

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millennia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. [177] These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified, it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuilding and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

I

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summit of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyushu node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific, 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyushu, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Huang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyushu. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179 ●

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."¹ Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570. 131 175

1 William H. Furness III, *Life in the Luchu Islands*. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

The Settlement

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
361 square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
161 subtracted.

311 How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like
Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to
try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of
man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky,
and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There
are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been
cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the
forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."⁵ In this light,
the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested
south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and
Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people.
[174] The town of Uten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior,
[161] Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century be-
cause they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the popula-
tion of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered.
If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern
regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent
war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made
in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is
a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the tem-
perature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual tem-
peratures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July
and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues Top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo
Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USOS, Military Geology Section under
the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

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There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

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It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."¹

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One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely.

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This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan.

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1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

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In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-chi-gin who later headed the institutionalised noro religious system. The second daughter became the first priestess (noro).

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The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.⁴ The districts were divided into mura, or townships. "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."⁵ There is reason to believe that Tensonshi's dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

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In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

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Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[Text continues on p. 29--Analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, *ibid*, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.

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The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Uten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Uten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minamoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minamoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Uten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minamoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Eikon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Okurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.

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The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island.

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The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Sataudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

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empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuan brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.

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The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, perhaps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.¹⁰

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In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.¹¹ Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

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- 9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

- 10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

- 11 Haguenaer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendus, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution; the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the more system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.¹²

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.¹³

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Patani on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portuguese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 32--ANALYST]

- 12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04, 156.
13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.
14. The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Hiyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

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439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoosans in this manner became known to the Portuguese.¹⁵

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648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyushu to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

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648 This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mohammedan world and of the Portuguese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

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439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portuguese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern island of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyushu, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

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369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

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[439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 33--ANALYST]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryukyü Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryukyü-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, *ibid*, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175
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From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Masaki Gima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.¹⁶ In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mumu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.¹⁷

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

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648 In April 1844, the French corvette *Alcmène* landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.²⁰

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175 Belcher's *Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang* (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.²¹ The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

● [197] The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues TOP of P. 39--Analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. *Les français aux îles Lieou K'ieou*. *Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales*. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's *Narrative of the Expedition*, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

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This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

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Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

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One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

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After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexact, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to cranes and

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1865-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."²⁴ Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.²⁵ Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.²⁶ This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.²⁷

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 -- Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. *Things Japanese*, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, *Perry's Expedition to Japan*, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

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Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

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Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country roads," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.²⁸

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As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

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Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa;

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The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

²⁸ Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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166 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and central areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

[648] In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

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177 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

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[198] The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individuals of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

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184 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

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648 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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The people of Nagano are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itooman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace.

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagano, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itooman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itooman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong.

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access.

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itooman called Rondongama, Rondon for London. Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly.

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of

[Text continues on top of P. 53--Analyst]

- 9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itooman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itooman. The bones were moved here during the war from Iizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.¹ This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

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There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.² This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamiyans.

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Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.³

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

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[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 60--ANALYST]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

840 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.

[197] In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances,

[167] But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[83] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [560] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69--Analyst]

[114] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, [208] not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that
 [177] the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese
 [164] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that
 its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro-
 duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province
 in China.²

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding
 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried
 342 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of
 rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were
 probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site
 had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpan made out of the dried
 grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two com-
 partments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The
 floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered
 with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with
 split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a
 [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations
 now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the
 house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning
 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of
 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers,
 one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a
 stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The
 granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood
 [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.³

The houses of the poor, said Fabs in his report to Commodore Perry,
 were made of bamboo and had no floors.⁴ Accounts around the turn of the
 century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of
 considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high.
 The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting
 with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a
 matting curtain covering the aperture.⁵

[Text continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C.W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses
 of the Ainu of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples.
 Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one
 we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a
 courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpan. The
 historical geography of early Japan. *Geo. Review*, 13 (1923), 40-63.
 Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in *Annual
 Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, *Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo*, as cited,
 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hanks, *Perry's expedition to Japan*, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, *In Togo's country*. New York and Cincinnati, 1908,
 118-19.

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system. 602 171 182 [M]

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation. 602

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility. [544]

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered. 669

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

2.

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property.

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The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Minatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

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Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

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Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.¹

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¹ In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of *katoku-sōzoku* (succession to house headship) and *isan sōzoku* (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, *Ancestor worship and Japanese law*. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, *katoku* (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., *The Japanese village in transition*, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., *Japanese Land Reform Program* (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

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1

The Old Land Allotment System

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the law of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land law. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

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Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied.

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In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.

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[Text continues top of p. 136 -- analyst]

- 1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Ikinatogama. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land.

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The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today.

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Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshiishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons).

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This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.²

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² It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedents of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wignore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

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These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY		1952
1		
12th Month	5th day	

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

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Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.¹

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The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar."

[177] ●

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities.

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[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

- 1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Hōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xood.

[177]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to
farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China
and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.² But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in
any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Appli-
cations are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use.
In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and
sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
[282] placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[463] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be ap-
plied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in
the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who
hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus
meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two
brothers served the Oushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it
was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a
general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used
around plants already growing and around each plant individually,
rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared.
Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the in-
frequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the country-
side. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some
credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
in Okinawa. "How-night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly
[114] it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
[117] applied in the same way."³ In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and
the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions
of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally
are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, *Neu-Japan*, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, *Perry's expedition to Japan*, as cited, II, 35. The author
was Dr. Green.

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177] •

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small pickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

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407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

[462] A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the men and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

• [177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction. 243
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As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as vara. 824
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Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940. 256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes. [511]
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Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

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[443] special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

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[797] Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

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231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

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[262] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

[472] Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

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[262] Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

Hanasakiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

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<u>Borrower of the</u>	<u>Advances Made by</u> <u>Members</u>	<u>Repayments Made</u> <u>by</u> <u>Borrower-Members</u>	<u>Amount Available</u> <u>For Lending Each</u> <u>Month</u>
1st Month	¥2000 (100 x 20)		¥ 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	¥110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets ¥2090 from the other members, which, when added to the ¥100 plus ¥10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals ¥2200.

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The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

474 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyokumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and re-sells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and McLeod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

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In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.² In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.³

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. *Sanbagakugaki* (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolising happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday.

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At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived.

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The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school.

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But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around

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is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles. 854 513

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life. 854

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults. 571 177 157

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this thesis was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.⁸ The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This 155 114

⁸ See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawans. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
302 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undokai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
 868 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashi). This public reticence, so old in Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.¹⁶

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.¹ His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objection because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

[582] The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.²

[117] 1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. *Beitrag zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln*, 88 and 90. Schwartz, in Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
596 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed
downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The
father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their
heads and then made their responses.

[493] When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed
the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle
could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In
former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked pre-
ceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the
groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony,
have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set.
Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds
silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This
is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered
in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and
goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping
it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She
also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which
may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like
[302] a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural white-
ness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted
by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the
principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are
made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another.
There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken
and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups
have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be
used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the
groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who
took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in
the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as
it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage
ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and
went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
596 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious
and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a
little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly
about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups.

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In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony.

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A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food.

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In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about ¥5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from ¥20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles.

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There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[437] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from ¥50 to ¥100 up to ¥1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
198 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In
727 the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
198 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to free choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal
[586] approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[562] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or
[197] unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [77]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot water tub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

[516] In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginosza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.² Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

• [177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

² Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

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After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length.

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From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again.

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In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shaved. The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently.

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Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

305 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants,
 302 visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a
 haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always
 shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably
 shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is
 commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair
 trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by con-
 vention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations
 of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish
 attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from
 society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the
 women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who
 read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the
 position of the women. But in general women accept their status.
 [177] The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of
 this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I
 asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little
 social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said
 the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home.
 The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to
 neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is
 with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[594] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men
 comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she
 participates in the conversation, though she usually retires
 earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet
 her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then
 unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between
 husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently
 in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around
 daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an
 errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the
 company of other women with like duties. Her working and social
 life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women,
 day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very
 common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public,
 except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party,
 a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

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The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

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Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

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Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

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The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

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The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with mogusa seem to have the greatest vitality.

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Tattooing

Tattooing (irezumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing.

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Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tattooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.⁷

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This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related

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⁷ Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu Islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

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609 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Minatogawa fishermen; but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Minatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

[648] In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Minatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[114] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portuguese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

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One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the after-world. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. Lead also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [077]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

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The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

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The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

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The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

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Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (oisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Matsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

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Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on

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[536] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

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Other Holidays of the Year

[824] Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

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[252] There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

[769] The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (toji) is known, but Minatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

[177] Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.⁶

[177] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. This did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

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Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These appearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

55A labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

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Community Organizations

575 Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

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592] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

[368] In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

● [197] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

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621] There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kurichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

[332] The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (ko'ai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.¹ 871
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The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, [565] Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."²

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.³ This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumin-gakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

- 1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]
- 2 Hanks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.
- 3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups; those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

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of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

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It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

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In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

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In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

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Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.⁴

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

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On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

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The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

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⁴ It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

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[198] Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant because the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonies, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

[177] There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

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797 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

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114 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.¹

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loophocans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Matsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether.

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Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (*hi no kami*), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief.

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Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.⁷

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Gods of the Well (*ido no kami*). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply.

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7 The Shinto god shelf (*kamidana*) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Matsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (*inari-san*) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols.

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trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Minatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past.

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognised.

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land.

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification.

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtze river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
181 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

171 Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
369 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the alters of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

105 968 Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing

[131] a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
 648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
 174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place
 predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from
 the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
 [172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these
 theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, character-
 istic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
 cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are men-
 tioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
 177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
 174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
 [847] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which
 the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia
 (Cole, 1915:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a com-
 mon proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954).
 This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under
 the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex
 into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not
 the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by re-
 mains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
 648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
 175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward
 China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom
 of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Even-
 tually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty
 over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa partici-
 pated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated
 through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It
 is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a
 peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and
 abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
 175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
 177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
 648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an over-
 whelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of
 Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

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home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105
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The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105
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Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105
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LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197
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197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[601]
[197] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful
[648] to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
802 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

Taira: An Okinawan Village
Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the north-west and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

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CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Un-
til World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the
village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha.
Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are
laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S.
Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II;
some have Japanese uniforms. 291
[097]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled
up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold
months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around
their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb
perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work.
Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and
most women wear slips. 296

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older
women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike
an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the
baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when
men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most mar-
ried women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of
the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better
clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the
itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times
a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men
still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually
women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men
Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has
shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men
and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers
and shoes. 292
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Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen
on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model
to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in
the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a
trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their
long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have
finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess'
daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her
(305)

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Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. 589 [428] 592

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. 556

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus. 632 [217]

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change." 622 666 [177]

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec- 666 [592] [575]

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

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626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone
who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person
who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it
seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation
of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by
fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school train-
ing before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.

[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and
their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and char-
acterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we
found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She
understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she
does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the
little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?"
In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few com-
pulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather
than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in deter-
mining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals,
and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, over-
lapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of
Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177●

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. 562

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554
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As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769
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562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in
some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally
mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not
proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but ex-
press hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their
work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better
stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at
home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses in-
volved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions
of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as
one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier
times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at
that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard
in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do
periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
[177] which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the
afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that
it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers,
but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for
the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and
food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village
officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the police-
man. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches
in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observa-
tions as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making
him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important
factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-
long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared
that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much
sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The
children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers
on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their
chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played
as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

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tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584
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Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comradeship between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584
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Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584
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Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581
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Chapter 8

Religion

- 771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices recognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces. ● 177 The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confucian-Buddhist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, control many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might offend these supernatural forces.

- 771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although historically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate, they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

- 776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these supernatural beings are worshipped.

- [782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

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like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance. [776] [782] [776] [782] [342] [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status. [793] [562] [794] [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and [793]

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who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services. 758

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective. 744 575

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted to commit suicide; quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village. 158 734 757 [755] [762]



Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was established in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 871 177 ●

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871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school
system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture;
the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years
was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese
and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
of Taira's population.

872 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
346 where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary
[871] school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but
3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school
lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school
buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the
elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building
with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of
simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located
in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts
with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school re-
building program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for
sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in
size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on
sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging
roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent
showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately behind
[514] the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although
both pass through the same passageway where boys use the
urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal
and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood
are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard
in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many
first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some
older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling
may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several
years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it
is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth
organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in
school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] 873

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
 177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to
 554 the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

554 The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while
 872 male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871] 177 [191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen (\$4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954-1955, 310,344 yen (\$2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

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842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
 [843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old peo-
 [593] ple who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
 heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the
 favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the
 cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up
 to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of
 bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
 551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
 553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
 842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
 • [77] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby
 girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more chil-
 dren. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and
 registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
 744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan
 public health department on this matter, and a few families
 actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
 847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control,
 abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these meas-
 ures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registra-
 tion and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
 ever . . . we could not say. . . ." • It is interesting to note that in

[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
 [848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
 practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot
 be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field,
 however: if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus
 the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and
 the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to
 acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
 reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
 [461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
 [522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the
 male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How
 now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and
 women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

• Personal communication from public health nurses.

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- 853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs.



Chapter 13

Infancy

- 858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
grow to be a healthy, happy adult.
- 177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is
complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is
vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized con-
cretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.*
They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior
on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count)
conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious
gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a
phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japa-
nese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in
nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any
better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows
this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs
foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young
babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly,
with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japa-
nese ideas.

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In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly.

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunch-backed storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge.

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping.

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience.

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

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866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats,
which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school
routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom;
they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.

● [177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the
educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes
we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World
War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay.
more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls
876 in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard
girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on
them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive
behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without
several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally
a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing
on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who
intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying
on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to
and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be
cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match
in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well
as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at
bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record
(second grade).

... Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts
loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class ... Class then starts reading
aloud, each pupil for himself ... A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns
around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

- 197 Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."¹ On the contrary, however, this language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

- 197 Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation separating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

¹ Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Anami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.¹ Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area. These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [62]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoyan and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view; but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoyan dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoyan, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [55] [17] [48] [17] [54] [55] [22]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [61] 197 105 [56] [56] [62]

¹ Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

² Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanagusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [571] [566]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

(mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the *Kagiyadefu* (which some Okinawans liken to a national anthem), *Nubui Kuduchi*, *Hamachidori*, *Tanchame* are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or *umui* (sometime rendered *omoro*) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably linked to it are shamans (*yuta*) and fortune tellers ('*ekisha*'). The former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese *Book of Changes* (*I Ching*), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.¹ At the start the Japanese were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

¹ Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status. 191
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Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter. 191
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In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese. 191
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217 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
 197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
 821 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
 [57] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and cul-
 ture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim
 noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt
 of the literati.¹ He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical
 texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political para-
 mouncy of Japan from 1509 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between
 the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
 [53] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Ja-
 panese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese.
 Thus, for example, the Omoro-Ōhi, sixteenth century collection of songs which
 the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese
 style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for
 the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
 197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Ok-
 inawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given
 two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the
 Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed
 as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary
 is used. This is not a suitable device for transcribing Okinawan speech, which
 contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
 [54] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by
 the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyayagi and
 Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use through-
 191 out the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
 177 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
 178 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-state-
 ment to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority
 of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a
 whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to
 its offspring.

¹ Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true
 178 in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems
 hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The
 following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly
 insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman,
 241 Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers
 198 were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification
 of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and
 the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders
 from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduc-
 177 tion of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar
 433 manufacture.¹ It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the
 241 islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after
 the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the econ-
 omy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons,
 and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.² By the end of the 1951-1952
 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.³

175 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa
 621 had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gen-
 try. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three fami-
 lies to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners
 from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village
 of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had
 come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century.

[325] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older
 settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been
 here for only two hundred years."

175 In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three per-
 241 iods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was
 178 made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet po-
 433 tatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensifi-
 177 cation under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a
 home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was
 planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops
 of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and
 became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-
 war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

¹ Navy Handbook, p. 240.

² CAARI, p. 156.

³ Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu
 Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175
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Chronology of Change in Crops

The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262]
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The old "bearded rice" varieties (*fijimē* and *mēdakōja*) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the *tantui*, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.¹ Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175
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Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178
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¹ Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumai-kuri variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwa. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane (summer planting) (spring planting)	500 300	350 150	Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees furnish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neighboring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers. **[54]** Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, **[57]** and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy **821** fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuzazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Naha farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Naha farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

● **[17]** Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

261 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa
 262 have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[37] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a
 274 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

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177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar
438 provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short--- and can afford rice.

[433] In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a [433] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to receive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: [435] first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a [434] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctance on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haeraru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities

The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamiyans want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services

Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land--indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincoats made of

294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincoats from the excess rice straw,
[295] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada

178 Before the war many---probably most---Yamada people had never worn Western-style clothing.

• 179 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[295] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[296] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[297] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

746 One case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about \$2.08).

746 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, 427 some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

746 Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. [632] The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

<u>Tax Name</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zeī	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Qyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

601 But it is significant that
 184 the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
 177 classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
 171 are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and "niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

(17) By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and "younger sister". But these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins, while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a stranger may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy. (601) [97] [576] [596]

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups. (601) [97] [192]

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kinship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending (601) [97] [192]

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
 177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
 192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names

613 Every house has a name (yaa-una, Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses, the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gvaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gvaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jiran Taba-gvaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gvaa might be mi-Taba-gvaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.

553 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
 177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
 192 gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'samurai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Ryō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Ito, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Ito Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Ryō Ansei and Ryō Angō.

For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551 that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinae, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.) [174]

Among the commoners (hyakuso, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third") of the house Taasachi-gwa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the "koseki". [565] [172] [615]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle" becomes 'Ōhiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet". 551 179

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if possible a cabinet (tootoomes, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (if ee, J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are 769 353 592 769 592 [613]

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the nala-mutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-mutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

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The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same surname. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinese-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

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Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Ryō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itoou, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

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In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

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It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future.

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It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the manchu at Kanagusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities.

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2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar.

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The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".¹ The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon').

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¹ For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

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- 177 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Hiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimi (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

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- The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekishu') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the laymen. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

- Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period. 805 527

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese annexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calendar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later. 805 177

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe. 842

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000. 843 [737]

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb. [774]

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
 861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported¹ that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
 181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
 171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
 861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".² Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan *bachi nu ataeing*, Japanese '*bachi ga ataru*') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
 524 if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
 [209] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-
 • [77] yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to
 jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[569] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
 178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (*niisee*, in J. '*seinen*', literally "green yeard"). There was
 [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
 [77] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
 877 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is
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¹ Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

² Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

If the

584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple
(sesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and
drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to
him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the partic-
ipants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it
should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems
probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving
device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary im-
portance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[589] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's
home. This money, called injooring, corresponds to the "bride price" of some
societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole
procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are
dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at
the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First
a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This
party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been
[17] the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony
was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom
celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On
the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a
formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come
[583] to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in
status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a
legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded
immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the
recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing
the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
583 home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with
three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with
a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary¹ explains the
practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the
bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The
second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant
of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

¹ The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, "Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?" 931
522

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and juriuuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans. 548
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Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.¹ The district was the center of the social life of the men of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The juriuuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon. [565]
[184]

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women. 575
562

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school²; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeable. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa. 575
[71]
[368]
[77] •

¹ Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

² Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
 793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
 • [77] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After
 the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives
 and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put
 into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At
 this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is
 led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if
 there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who
 holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and
 neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors
 of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the
 deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the
 neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the
 coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest en-
 ter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and of-
 ferings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
 565 sion called nimbucha (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
 [71] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked
 down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the
 Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a
 suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from
 the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remain-
 ing decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the
 tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the
 property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger
 and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the manchu. In
 some instances several manchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are
 built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of sev-
 eral hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor
 at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
 shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the
 [563] former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply
 place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older
 bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely
 that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family,
 rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by
 walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the
 tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with
 flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that
 loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the
 second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually
 wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabisii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 198 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

- 593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubtedly
• 177 be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to
the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from
insufficient filial piety.

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
 • 179 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the
 use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of
 their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
 [648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided
 into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-
 gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure
 more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little
 relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a
 long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
 [179] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they
 are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
 624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'.
 Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, ap-
 proximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head
 of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku
 which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term
 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the
 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of
 the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are
 elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really ro-
 tated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of
 the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township
 office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road,
 he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The
 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households
 supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as pre-
 paration for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his
 area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when
 tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to
 the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical
 nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like
 Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger be-
 tween the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work
 details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neigh-
 borhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In
 Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely
 no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village
 of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanaha: (literally
 ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very
 small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
 344 meeting place. These are usually called *muraya* in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in
 Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those
 of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-
 time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen peo-
 ple suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the
 building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored
 in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562 but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. [177] [827]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men. 562 184 621

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households. 621 [582] [197]

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 621 592 [281]

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

<u>Political Unit</u>	<u>Persons per Household, 1937</u>	<u>Persons per HH, 1952</u>
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

632
16 Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakema and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428]
[178]
[177] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planning for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

- 163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.¹ So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.²

[17] A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.³

- 842
• [17] Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

- 847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

- 163 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6 ⁴	27.1 ⁵

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.

2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.

3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.

4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.

5 All 39 cases are represented above.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
 423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
 431 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were
 made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexi-
 bility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; cer-
 tain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load,
 and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the of-
 ficials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
 [433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the
 farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity
 was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
 176 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has com-
 munal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula
 a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live
 elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
 448 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
 177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult
 one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor
 in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It
 was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight;
 therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be re-
 tained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts
 were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
 [548] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished,
 members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by
 the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before
 except that the *mura* replaced the *majiri* as the land-holding and disbursing
 175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
 648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
 177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
 423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the
 Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is
 to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the
 reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old cus-
 toms."¹ Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into
 the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting
 claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultiva-
 tor. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Ja-
 panese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter
 substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the
 rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

¹ Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. 11.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succession involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

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Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, purchase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has suggested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.¹

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After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were extended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been applied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

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3. World War II and the American Occupation

During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most violent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

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¹ Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

[Kanagusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanagusuku was fortunate in that only about 1/4 of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanagusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanagusuku people. [86]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621
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The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621
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and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

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Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

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Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

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At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment.

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Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

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The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

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775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.) 776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind 779 the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some 776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered 782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month 776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy 782 God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mbui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems.

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In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa.

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The kiJimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kiJimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fire-ball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.")

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The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them, are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about.

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One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept

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756 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman, though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some [787] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an uwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwa or yuta-gwa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted. 791 [787]

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner. 791 689

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods. 759 177

Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent. 759 757

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however,
 757 prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and
 [278] prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus
 have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of
 certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the
 human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice
 may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that
 the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely
 as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor
 are several types of practitioners who give treatments
 with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to
 use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it
 over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the
yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend
 as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favor-
 able response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medi-
 278 cine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are par-
 [144] ticularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are
 in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely
 and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and
 has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone
 shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

799 Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on
 [177] Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about
 one for every 3,900 persons. Trained nurses and medical facilities are
 also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more
 facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use
 of them.

759 Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are
 753 admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son
 829 might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not al-
 [584] ways heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social po-
 sition it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of
 illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be
 that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yata, san-
 jinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of
 worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are
 concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other be-
 liefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doc-
 tor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

¹ CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa
 plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons;
 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total
 population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees. 759 753 829

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medical doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself. [431]

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions. 000

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 173 177 ●

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
 177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
 vans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
 [54] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
 ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
 medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
 ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
 tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
 disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
 177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
 769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
 182 strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
 death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
 suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
 lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinavans show a strong resistance to any
 challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
 implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
 177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinavans could be persuaded to abandon
 757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
 critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
 just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
 surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
 down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
 not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
 [54] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
 fire in the jiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
 ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
 warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
 cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
 last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
 positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
 prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
 the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
 day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
 is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
 strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
 cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
 concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
 ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
 efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
 superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
 count on the cooperation of educated Okinavans. In opposing the practice of
 [18] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
 themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.¹ Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.² 871
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Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875
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¹ See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

² That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Emmy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'was nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
 554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
 178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status
 seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is
 probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example,
 have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
 [871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was
 rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not
 encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the
 teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free
 discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools
 adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with
 the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before
 the war there was for each class a 'nōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung
 around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the
 Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another
 child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck.
 And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of
 control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can
 hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce
 cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule
 as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First,
 it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman,
 his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as
 he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit.
 Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one
 child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for
 the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume
 that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must
 always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system
 to work.

[683] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked con-
 siderable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's
 crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village.
 It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into
 prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could
 no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed
 remote from ours.

876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
 178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
 895 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same
 persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some
 [177] may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views
 since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him--in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source 554 of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a 177 linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [22] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

- 376 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only
 177 means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible
 212 so that the student's might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he
 said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be
 better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system
 of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are
 his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are
 great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole
 of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form
 and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but re-
 written as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary
 of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters
 with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor
 would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would
 require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic
 appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of
 them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to dis-
 carding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in
 some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing
 for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to
 the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform
 the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resist-
 ance than it would meet with in Japan.

- 212 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary
 177 forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult
 for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a
 child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school
 for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure
 of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construc-
 tion of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own
 field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to
 me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where
 it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who,
 after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial
 Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute
 to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent
 could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents—
 perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected—might have shaken
 their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer
 capable of writing proper Japanese.

- 376 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the
 177 English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum begin-
 870 ning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons
 who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. More-
 over, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or
 the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling
 them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-
 adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "ai" and "shi", etc., result in such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English. 876 199

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day? 212 199 [554] 000

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
 177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899
 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land owner-
 ship and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private
 ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and
 the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change
 began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of
 military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
 423 administration relatively few changes were
 177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a
 series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society.
 The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period
 of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans
 into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural
 village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater
 participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
 871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrin-
 ated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese
 policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out
 through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
 177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
 829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in
 creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was
 largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguis-
 tic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their
 differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but in-
 stead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy
 of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an
 alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their
 own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cul-
 tural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel
 and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not erad-
 icated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced.
 An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the
 ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence,
 much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

177 An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
 619 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental

isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177
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It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177
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Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177
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Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177
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Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177
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Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727

- 727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching—families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

- 1977 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of
727 Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

- 197 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military
729 government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

- 197 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations
727 enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social
198 system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold
[54] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanagusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
367 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have
greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor
markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-
phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and
cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular
use of them. Some of the young people in Kanagusuku go to the theaters in
Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa
the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to
a newspaper.

178 In Kanagusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near
future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a
public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simpli-
fied the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts
made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying
there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes re-
placed with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On
Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of
the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the
author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into con-
tact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
178 ture have been a light. Improvements have been made in yields as the result
241 of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have
been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system
of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricul-
tural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though
their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as
scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or
even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there
any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain
small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of
using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gar-
dening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor
supply.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178
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Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the pre-war period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178
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The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [17] •

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177
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The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177
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Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincoats, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177
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period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job.

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In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner.

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Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire.

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Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan.

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Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness.

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A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received.

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Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country.

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000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.

302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 Diet With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually increased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly [179] the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as [172] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
 178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
 621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations
 and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
 753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
 177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern
 medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots,
 surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern
 scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made
 relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely pene-
 trated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
 753 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
 177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence
 of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain
 ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the
 younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of dis-
 ease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding
 generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
 [364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
 [231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the
 abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation
 inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
 [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
 part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
 [582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, partic-
 ularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
 177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxocautery and cutting to let blood.
 It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife,
 herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Re-
 liance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There
 seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin;
 hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the
 opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures,
 or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt,
 is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxocautery, tattoo-
 ing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made
 inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.¹

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
 178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxocautery, is slowly disappearing; in several
 communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been
 no replacement.

¹ Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese.

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A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order.

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Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming.

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Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas.

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Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in

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434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
 178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
 464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a
 larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm
 villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has
 further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
 [51] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
 [59] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for
 the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
 178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its after-
 math. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had
 resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be
 endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation.
 Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since
 the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed
 outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a
 lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
 178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented
 from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without
 any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her par-
 ticipation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman.
 Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice
 field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange
 is also contributing to the decline of the practices.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
 178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
 621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in
 their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
 178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a re-
 intensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is
 in marked contrast to Kanagusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major
 value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and re-
 intensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been
 more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
 • 177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with
 regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are
 no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
 [559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said,
 "After the war everyone was equal."

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

• [177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanagusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
833 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[664] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance.

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The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard.

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Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences.

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The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage.

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Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of

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- 177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[179] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
[180] awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
[181] to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

[Yamada]

Thus Asa Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621 and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, [177] while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Asa Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

[Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater
 361 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been
 178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater
 • 177 dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present
 concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of
 American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the
 hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next
 village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in
 the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A
 part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest
 unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been
 removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present asa is divided into five 'han', which are said also to
 178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along
 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of
 households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it
 seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has
 178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south
 484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their
 rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not
 only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore
 via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of
 the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa,
 and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice
 a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of
 the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their
 177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the
 727 American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they
 continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the
 [648] 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several
 years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military
 Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had consider-
 able contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that
 is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This
 relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada
 early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed
 that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good.
 During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with
 the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of
 the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these
 meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they
 had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to
 decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done.
 The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival.

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According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit.

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Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers.

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However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in

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[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
 144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
 563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that
 they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered
 any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside
 Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
 621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
 582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
 617 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and
 their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters
 who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands"
 to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when
 one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite
 properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite
 the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The
 girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences
 and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit
 was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was
 probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the
 relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
 727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
 177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in
 the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
 548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such,
 and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in
 GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is
 one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds
 and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of
 the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is
 directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by
 the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have
 much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following
 reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because
 people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad
 environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house
 would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money
 they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain.
 One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it
 could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
 111 expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have
 been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not
 interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone;
 action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about
 the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on
 the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too
 were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
 727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to
 its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it.

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Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans.

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To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the

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[Yamada]

621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the
727 unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of
177 the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught
English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and
sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over 20 twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and 177 their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

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277 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, 464 there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments 464 or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary 166 residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 (\$5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income 1511 is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- 1463 hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any 464 employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment.

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At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland.

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There has long been a tradition for the men of Hensa to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanagusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice.

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The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Hensa relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island.

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Summary On Hensa and to a far smaller degree in Kanagusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanagusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Hensa military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions.

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Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact,

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464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
 562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
 829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who
 were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief
 that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
 [831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual free-
 dom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
 554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office
 workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids,
 after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units;
 lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers'
 and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be dis-
 tinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
 PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
 [241] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and
 [177] flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
 554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
 582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate
 the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or \$10-15 per month) for maids is
 466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which
 they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
 [465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges
 which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
 [515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a size-
 able outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
 554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
 829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American
 or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been
 sold by their parents into this low status.

186 Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers

829 It was the author's im-
 pression that even those
 who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period
 of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the
 general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any
 stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so un-
 familiar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture.
 Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure
 of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and
 Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural
 backgrounds.

It

- 186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
 829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
 177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
 434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not
 a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
 829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
 554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
 648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
 464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is
 a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the
 social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make inter-
 action on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural back-
 grounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives
 and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
 (177) denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap,
 as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent.
 Factors that have entered into the formation of these
 attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
 648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
 829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu"
 (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no
 distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state
 of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed
 to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
 174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
 177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
 829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that
 the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan,
 in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be
 politically independent and their political independence made it possible for
 them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments,
 particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer con-
 tact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of
 Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind
 of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another prefecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor prefectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea.

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Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them.

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4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were discriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it.

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In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice.

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829 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw ser-
 vice in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their exper-
 726 iences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found
 Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been
 in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to
 tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known
 around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand de-
 serted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as
 an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

824 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see
 the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many
 units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army dis-
 cipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers
 continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the
 civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south
 were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also
 remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to
 serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's
 system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is
 not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed
 quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army
 policy and national culture.

177 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of
 829 interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions
 725 to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in
 Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an im-
 pression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political;
 the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the
 829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was
 724 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was
 177 actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only
 Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the
 people of Okinawa-men showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This,
 potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans
 to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious
 policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well
 aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through
 as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to
 derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have
 not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be,
 the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is
 inherent in the situation.)

179 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met
 827 in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to
 Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while
 the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were
 told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177
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The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani' but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland /of Japan/". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186
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These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amerikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amerikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amerikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177
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1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

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829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

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829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government—along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

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829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

in Far Eastern affairs study the history, structure, and functioning of both GRI and USCAR with the objective of investigating the allegations, which we heard from both Okinawans and Americans, that a) GRI is too removed from the rural villages to be concerned with them or aware of their problems; b) GRI is essentially a puppet of USCAR and therefore not to be respected or relied upon by the Okinawan people; c) USCAR has become an unwieldy bureaucratic structure more interested in self-perpetuation than in furthering U.S. policy. 000

Our own observations lead us to believe that there is some truth in each of these charges. The study of Kitazato revealed that GRI's Central Land Office in Naha, despite its apparent vast quantities of data, did not actually know of the extensive land changes which had taken place several years earlier and of the resultant division of the village into three separate settlements. But to determine where channels of communication had broken down would have required just such a separate politically-oriented study as that which we now recommend.

Going to the upper end of the political chain, we have the distinct impression that a study of USCAR would reveal a strong tendency toward "empire-building" on the part of some men who had no particular qualifications to begin with, but who have been allowed by time and circumstance to rise in the structure to the point where they are driven by their own insecurity to justify their positions by usurping numerous powers and functions that should be left to the Okinawans. This tendency can only result in inefficiency, duplication of function, and the basis for the second charge given above, that GRI is USCAR's puppet. These results are not only financially burdensome but damaging to U. S. prestige.

Besides the general recommendation that the present political organization of Okinawa be studied, we make the following specific recommendations:

1) Reevaluation of the legal code. The present legal code consists of a combination of U. S. Military Government ordinances, USCAR directives, etc., and legislation passed by the GRI legislature. We heard complaints from local officials to the effect that much of the law in operation was pre-war Japanese law and that Okinawa had not benefitted from the new and more democratic Japanese constitution. Sometimes the charge becomes specifically, "USCAR is preventing the democratization of Okinawa". The study recommended above should discover whether the fault lies with USCAR or with the GRI legislature and what might be done about it. [177] [671]

2) Selection and rotation of USCAR personnel. Where there are Americans whose duties are to advise other nations in the solution of various political, social, and economic problems and to represent the American people in doing so, these men ought to have both the special knowledge required for the first function and the appreciation of what life is like in the United States for the second. Men who have no particular knowledge of the area or of the specific problems that need solving and who have not lived in the United States for any length of time since before World War II are hardly competent to perform these functions. It is highly desirable that USCAR personnel be selected